Anna Louise Strong:

'How I feel about Russia'

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the progressive newsweekly

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Will we get our marching orders again?

Winston Churchill—atom-bomb-happy man

By Konni Zilliacus, M.P.

ON January 23, 1948, Winston Churchill boasted in the House of Commons that his Fulton, Mo., speech in March 1946 laid down the policy since adopted by both President Truman and the British Labor Government.

Is the old man, now on another U.S. visit, going to give us our marching orders again on both sides of the Atlantic?

As Mr. Shinwell, Labor's Secretary of State for War, put it the other day, "Mr. Churchill is a great war-leader—that's why he wants another war"

COPS AND ROBBERS. Most of the Tory Party have got to the point where they would like to ditch Mr. Churchill if they could. As long as he leads them they have no hope of winning an election. But they have sold him so hard to the country as the inspired leader, God's gift to Britain and the world, that the operation would be attended with come difficulty, particularly as Mr. Churchill firmly believes in the dream-picture of himself drawn by the Tory propaganda office for the multitude.

Not only is it difficult to pry this formidable old man loose from the leadership, but the Tories have no-one to put in his place. Eden is an aging clothes-horse, and the rest of the Tory leaders are stuffed shirts or crypto-fascist big business bruisers and ex-officer types.

In foreign affairs Mr. Churchill has sunk into his political dotage. He is back in his mind to the scenes of his youth, playing cops and robbers with world communism and leading not only the British Commonwealth and Empire, but also western Europe and the United States, into a bigger and bloodier war of intervention—this time not against the Soviet Union only but against the socialist third of humanity.

NASTY LITTLE GAMES. During his private war of intervention in Russia after World War I, I was Intelligence Officer in the Military Mission in Siberia. I was entrusted with coding and decoding the super-secret personal messages between the head of the Mission, General Sir Alfred Knox, and the Minister for War, who was Winston Churchill.

I know all about Mr. Churchill's little games at that time, and very nasty they were too. They included:

(1) Deceiving Parliament, which was told that reinforcements were being sent to Russia only to cover the withdrawal of troops and stores and that there would be no offensive action—at the very moment when I was transmitting a hot exchange of telegrams between the two worthies mentioned, planning a big north-western offensive to join the Archangel forces at Kotlas and then sweep on to Moscow and Petrograd.

(2) An attempt to pull the wool over the eyes of his own Prime Minister Mr. Lloyd George, by inducing the Tsarist Admiral Kolchak to make a noise like a democrat and promise the land to the peasants.

(3) The incident of faking a military victory so as to induce the Allies to recognize Admiral Kolchak.

Finally, the whole squalid and bloody adventure put class before country. For if it had succeeded and put the Tsardom back in Russia, fascism would have swamped Europe after the first post-war slump, the second world war would have come ten years earlier, and in it we would have been facing a German-Russian combination that would have been well-night invincible.

DEFENDERS OF FAITH. On Jan. 20, 1927, on a visit to Rome as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Baldwin government, Mr. Churchill told the assembled press that if he were an Italian he would have been whole-heartedly with Mussolini "in his triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites of Leninism . . . Italy has provided the necessary antidote to the Russian poison."

In 1936 Mr. Churchill lyrically praised Franco as the man who would restore the glories of ancient Spain against the squalors of equalitarian communism (meaning thereby the democratic Spanish government that did not include a single Communist).

In 1938 Mr. Churchill wrote that if England were defeated, we must have a Hitler to restore our fortunes.

From 1942 on, it was Mr. Churchill who confused anti-German strategy with anti-Soviet and anti-resistance movement intervention, thereby prolonging the war and bedeviling the peace.

BLACK OR BOILED. This is not a charge against Mr. Churchill's personal good faith. It is merely a faithful account of his blind political fanaticism, which is so great that even 30 years after he still understands nothing of the lessons of the past.

Mr. Churchill is an atom-bomb-happy Ahab who, if he had the power, would sail the good ship Civilization in pursuit of the Red Moby Dick of his anti-Soviet delirium until it foundered with all hands.

The difference between a Tory and a Fascist—when the class power and privilege of the rich are at stake—is often only the difference between a boiled shirt and a black shirt.

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the progressive newsweekly

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The GUARDIAN's aim

Everything for peace

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, its readers and indeed the whole progressive movement in America may shortly find themselves in the eye of an ideological hurricane occasioned by the writings and lectures of author-reporter Anna Louise Strong, following her recent experiences in the Soviet Union.

This statement by the editors of the GUARDIAN is for the purpose of alerting all hands and asserting our policy clearly and distinctly, with the hope that we can weather any and all storms without undue hurt to anyone — and with continued gains in strength for the American progressive movement.

AS Miss Strong's syndicated articles appear in many U. S. newspapers starting Sunday, March 27, and as her lectures are reported, there will be violent pros and cons over the content of her statements as well as the likelihood of her guilt or innocence of the espionage charges lodged against her in the Soviet Union.

Until full and particularized charges are made public against Miss Strong, and until she has had the opportunity to reply to them, fairness demands that judgment on the question of guilt or innocence be withheld by all.

Whatever Miss Strong writes and says must be judged by its content and its effect, intended or unwitting, on the fight for peace, which depends for its success almost entirely on the growing strength and solidity of the progressive movement in America.

WITH respect to all writers for NATIONAL GUARDIAN, we have a single, basic yardstick, which is this:

We stand for peace, peace and more peace — peace based on friendship and understanding with the Soviet Union. Without this peace no real gains can be realized for the people of America or anywhere else in the world.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN seeks to make every effort journalistically to speed the advent of such a peace; to provide material which will engender understanding and friendship with all nations, including the Soviet Union, China, Greece and other places in the world where the U. S. A. no longer stands as the symbol of peace.

Anna Louise Strong is one of many free-lance correspondents of NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Her work for us will be judged and edited as is all other material which comes across our desks. As long as, in our editorial opinion, it contributes to and strengthens the fight for peace and the solidity of the forces fighting for peace, it will be printed. Any material, by any writer submitting work to us, which casts unwarranted (repeat: unwarranted) reflection on any nation, will be rejected.

THE Editors of the GUARDIAN make this statement now in order to get our editorial position clearly understood, for present and future readers; and to make it clear also that we do not intend to surrender our columns as a battleground for unwarranted (repeat: unwarranted) conflict of views and statements, which may serve to divide rather than strengthen the progressive movement in its fight for peace, freedom and abundance.

—**The Editors**

Writers and People

YOU writers and artists are heroes without a battlefield. You are not familiar with anything—with the characters you depict, with the situations you describe, or the people for whom you work.

If we cannot understand even the language of the people, how can we talk about the creation of literature and art?

The more you demonstrate your qualifications as an accomplished writer or artist, the more you parade as a hero, the more you try to sell your ideas to the people—the more emphatically will the people reject your work. If you want the masses to understand you and if you want to forge yourself into one piece with the masses, you must resolve to pass through a long and even painful process of tempering.

Mao Tse-tung.

THE MAILBAG

Light on Trenton

NEW HAVEN CONN.

On March 9, I discussed the Trenton case with Mr. Cochran of the AP office in New Haven. I told him I wanted to know why it hadn't been in our New Haven papers. He told me that he had never heard of it before, so I read him the details from the March 7 GUARDIAN, and suggested that he try to get the story from the Trenton AP office for our city. Well, four days later, here it is for the first time in any New Haven paper.

Herman Dubin

Mr. Dubin enclosed a clip, three-quarters of a column long, on the Trenton case from the "New Haven Register." More power to Mr. Dubin and Mr. Cochran. Ed.

WHEATON, ILL.

Life surely is getting more complicated day by day! The **Chicago Tribune** prints this [the same AP dispatch mentioned in the letter above. Ed.] and the supposedly more liberal **Sun-Times** prints only a few lines.

Mrs. Melvin J. Boe

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Objection

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I think your paper is swell. Keep up the good work. But I have an objection—the column called The Cottonpatch. It was not written by a Southerner. It was written in typical southern Negro dialect. If we progressives object to anyone else assuming the dialect of any group, we ourselves must not do it. We object to comedians on the radio telling a joke in Jewish accent. We object to the portrayal of Negroes in a "typically southern setting with typical accents and actions." Why, then, should we accept it in The Cottonpatch, even though it was written by a progressive?

Jay Bee

Not all Northerners appreciate the humor of Owen H. Whitfield, who writes The Cotton Patch, but it is authentic. Of Negro sharecropper stock, Whitfield has been a sharecropper all his life, a preacher for 20 years, and for almost that long a recognized leader of the progressive fight in south-east Missouri. He organized and led the great roadside sharecropper strike in 1939.—Ed.

He knew Lenin

BROOKSVILLE, FLA.

I want to thank you personally for your able and generous help to Anna Louise Strong. When Anna Louise went to Russia in a relief group under the auspices of the Quakers, I gave her letters to folks in power in the Soviet government of what had been the land of the Tsars.

I know her as a gallant daughter of a gallant Christian minister, and a pioneer in the social revolution of this era in human history. (I knew Lenin better than any other Allied officer; met with him on an average of three times a week for nearly six months, when I served as unofficial agent of our U.S.A. to the Soviet government).

Raymond Robins

As Red Cross representative and unofficial U.S. agent in Russia at the time of the revolution of 1917 and after, Col. Robins was the first American to understand Soviet aims and press for American friendship with the new regime. Ed.

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Whew!

WASHINGTON, D. C.

You are putting out by far the best newsweekly I have seen in the 40 years I have been in touch with the progressive movement. If we don't get together and put NATIONAL GUARDIAN solidly on its feet, we will deserve whatever happens to us.

I enclose trial subscriptions for ten of my friends. At the proper time I will blackjack them into subscribing for themselves.

Frederick A. Blossom

Not merely form

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The GUARDIAN should attempt to reach the great number of people who despite their political complexions are opposed to our present foreign policy. The American Communist has the **Daily Worker** while the non-Communist liberal can turn to no other newspaper but the GUARDIAN.

Recent issues of the GUARDIAN convince me that you are missing out in your efforts to interest the vast number of non-Communist progressives. The cartoon on Truman in the March 14 issue is in poor taste politically since it is apparent that a coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans are responsible for the failure to enact a civil rights program. The fact that Truman is vacationing when he should be in Washington exerting pressure is unfortunate but does not warrant the characterization of a Lady Macbeth Truman.

The tone of Emil Carlebach's article (March 7) is another point. I believe that Wahrhaftig probably tried to exert a moderating influence on American policy in Germany. His dismissal shows that the U.S. Military Government of Germany will have to curtail the Social Democratic Party as it has done the Communist Party. Carlebach's conclusion that "democratic anti-communism is as impossible as a democratic Goebbels" must be analyzed in light of the unfortunate tendency of Communists to condemn all non-Communist progressives as anti-Communist.

The majority of progressives in this country are not convinced that communism is the only alternative to reaction. You state that the GUARDIAN is the only alternative to the left-wing **Daily Worker** and the reactionary press. This difference must be one of substance rather than merely of form.

A. F.

Trenton film

A film strip on the Trenton case, narrated by Paul Robeson, is available for rental or purchase from the Civil Rights Congress, 205 E. 42d St.

The black and white film, 35 mm. size, runs for 10½ minutes and comes with the 12-inch narration record. Composed of photo stills and montage effects, the film costs $4. In the metropolitan area, it may be rented from the Congress for $7.50 a night, including operator, projector and sound equipment.

New government books

AMONG recent publications by the United States Government GUARDIAN picked out these titles as the most universally interesting. Send your order to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Health Information Series No. 22—**Mumps.** Describes the disease, gives symptoms, and tells what to do until the doctor comes. 4 pages. 5c. Catalog No. FS 2.50:22.

Health Information Series No. 34—**Sinus Infection (Sinusitis).** Describes the disease, gives the causes, warning signs, and information as to treatment. 4 pages. 5c. Catalog No. FS 2.50:34.

Federal Labor Laws and Agencies, a Layman's Guide. Provides a quick reference to the important laws of general application. Government services available to management and labor in the field of working conditions also listed. 94 pages. 25c. Catalog No. L 16.3:100.

GENESIS: The Creation of the Rabbit — Lettres Francaises, Paris

THE WORLD

Anna Louise Strong

'The U.S.S.R. carries the great hope of mankind'

THE story that is being syndicated throughout the country by the **N. Y. Herald Tribune** recounts the outer events that happened to me in the Soviet Union. Most of the friends I could reach in the first two weeks after my return, when I was sick in the country, thought it would do good to publish it, to allay some of the confusion my situation has caused.

"The truth hurts nobody," they said. I hope so. But I fear that it will be distorted in many cities and misinterpreted in many minds.

What seems to me the "inner story" is the story of what this event has done to my own thinking. What do I now think of the U.S.S.R., you will ask. Have I changed my mind?

The first and simplest answer is: "Why should a single event, that I regard as a result of the world-wide spy scare, change the thinking of my life?"

YET in some ways this shock has surely changed me, and perhaps will change me more. Not only the original shock, but—worse than that—the fact that as I flew across Europe after my deportation I found myself suddenly alone.

In every country the people I most loved shrank from me now. I came down at LaGuardia in a blaze of klieg lights to a Grand Jury summons. Only Cedric Belfrage of the **National Guardian** rescued me in that zero hour of deepest need. Only my beloved doctor in New England sheltered me.

I am one of those who do not like to make important decisions without a lot of friendly advice. But now almost no old friend wanted to see me, for reasons that were very clear. For the first time in many years I had to do hard thinking and make decisions all alone.

There had been times, while flying exhausted above the clouds toward Paris and New York, when I had suddenly seemed to gain a wide vision. I wanted to test this, but there was almost nobody with whom to discuss it. And I have always thought Stalin was right when he said that "individual decisions have a 90% chance of being wrong, unless corrected by joint discussion of many like minds."

So I am still thinking, still trying to clear my mind by contact, whenever I can get it, with the minds of friends. But—some things seem to me clear.

YOU ask first: what do I now think of the U.S.S.R.?

I still think that the U.S.S.R. carries the great hope of mankind.

I am trying to use words carefully. I say "carries," not "is." I mean as a mother carries a child toward birth.

I do not think that the U.S.S.R., as it is today, is a model that I should like America to copy and to be. They have many good things worth copying and so have we.

When I say that the U.S.S.R. "carries" the great hope of mankind I mean, first of all, peace. That is mankind's first hope today.

I think the Soviet system is basically non-aggressive. They do not need war or a war economy to avoid depressions.

The U.S.S.R. took her troops out of Iran, when she might have claimed treaty rights from 1921; we put our military advisers in there, right next to the Russian border.

The U.S.S.R. took her troops from Manchuria; we kept ours in China. She took them out of North Korea; we kept them in the south.

I don't think there's any indication that Poland, Hungary and those other east European countries are "satellites" of Russia to any greater extent than Latin-America, France and Italy—not to mention Greece and Turkey—are "satellites" of ours. All small nations tend to become "satellites" of big ones when a war scare is on.

The way to save all the European nations from the "satellite" situation is to calm war tensions. I think we started these tensions, right at Hiroshima with our atom bomb, and later with our cold war and "Get tough with Russia."

No Russian diplomat would dare come back from a UN meeting or a foreign ministers' conference, and brag that he "didn't yield an inch," as some of ours have done. The Russians wouldn't stand for it. I think all of them, from top to bottom, want peace and don't think a third World War "inevitable."

THE second way in which I think the U.S.S.R. "carries" the hope of mankind is that man's second hope is "plenty for all." That of course is what "communism" means, by definition "to each according to his needs."

Our American district attorneys throw "communism" around like a curse word, synonymous with "force and violence." When the Russians say they're developing toward "communism" they mean an economic system of "plenty for all" and fairly divided—plenty not only of bread but of education and chances for development. They haven't it yet, of course, but they think they're getting closer day by day. And it's a fact that their standard of living is rising. Ours isn't. That's also a fact.

In building this new economic system, based not on private profit but on publicly-owned wealth, they have to build under the instant threat of atomic bombs: we're handing them that.

BUT if they succeed in the end in bringing to birth the child they carry—and I think they will if we stop our atom-bomb stupidity, which is infinitely worse than any error of theirs—if they create a system of "plenty for all" in one big section of our planet, then history will soon forget any errors and record only the finished work. Then there'll be a new economic model for the world thereafter, and a solid base for peace.

Our big job now is to check our petty dictators who are smashing our civil liberties, to stop our warlords from spreading airbases, troops and military advisers to the ends of the earth, making the peoples of almost every country fear and hate us.

If we hold the peace awhile, then we can take a real look at this "communism" when the Russians have built it and see how much of it we like. But give them their chance at it; that's good for us all.

This was the scene at LaGuardia Field when Anna Louise Strong arrived from Paris on the last leg of her journey from Moscow.

NEXT!

A Mediterranean Pact to replace the Arab League

By Marcelle Hitschmann

THE Atlantic Pact is the first item in the grandiose U.S. program to bring every available country into a "decisive" alliance against the Soviet bloc. Already there is much talk of the next item—a Mediterranean Pact to be modeled after the Atlantic Pact.

The Mediterranean Pact is an old resurrected story, conceived when the U.S., Britain and the U.S.S.R. were still fighting the Germans.

In October, 1944, while the Arab League was being painfully organized, Ahmed Maher Pasha, Egyptian Premier (murdered in March 1945), officially told the French Press Agency:

"The policy of friendship which Egypt intends to pursue shall not be limited with the two great nations of the eastern Mediterranean which throughout history were linked by many ties to the Nile Valley: Greece and Turkey."

This declaration, welcomed in the Greek and Turkish capitals, was made while British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden was in Egypt, back from Moscow and on his way to Greece.

BRITISH INTRIGUE. The plan to link the coastal countries of the Mediterranean—Greece, Turkey, Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt—was an unpublicized project of the British Foreign Office, to be promoted if the Arab League scheme did not come through.

The idea behind it was the idea which dictated the creation of the Arab League: reconstitution in the Mediterranean of the anti-Soviet cordon sanitaire which had collapsed in the Balkans after the German defeat.

When the Red Army invaded the Balkans and ousted the Germans from the area, leftist regimes emerged in the peninsula and it became obvious that the pre-war fascist-type regimes would not be restored at the end of the war. When the British landed in Greece in October 1944, they found that the people were predominantly republican and were inclined to develop friendly relations with the new Balkan regimes.

Such a trend was a direct threat to British interests in the Mediterranean and had to be reversed immediately. The pretext was supplied by Greece's internal conflict in December of the same year. The British intervened militarily, wiped out the left and later restored the monarchy.

TURKEY SANDWICH. At the same time Turkey was being heavily rearmed by Britain, who also encouraged Turkey to look again toward the East.

Since the revolution of Kemal Ataturk, Turkey had neglected her Oriental neighbors and had become a European power. She was reluctant to join a federation of small semi-independent Arab nations, as the Arab League would be.

On the other hand, her pre-war Balkan friends and Germany were kaput. She needed new friends. She was willing to become part of a Mediterranean bloc together with Greece and a few Arab countries. In exchange, Britain would support Turkey whenever the Soviets would reopen the question of internationalizing the Dardanelles Straits.

The Arab League at last came to life in March 1945, and the Mediterranean alternative was shelved.

BRING OUT YOUR DEAD. But now, four years later, the Arab League has collapsed. The Arab military defeats in Palestine proved that the League was made up of countries too weak ever to constitute the cordon sanitaire which the British Foreign Office needed. What else could be done but to resurrect the old Mediterranean project?

The Pact has a new look, though. It is now suggested to bring Franco Spain into the picture, and there is no mention whatsoever of Israel's possible participation.

Vie Nuove, Rome

"That damn dove's here again."

Frederick L. Schuman

North Atlantic Booby Trap

WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.

IN his press interview of March 18 Secretary Acheson presented his interpretation of the text of the Atlantic treaty. His comments were frank—up to a point.

- In contradiction to the views expressed on February 14 by Senators Vandenberg and Connally, he denied that any real distinction could be drawn between a "legal" and a "moral" obligation.
- He foresaw the possibility of the admission of Franco's Spain to the alliance.
- He opined that internal "revolutionary activity, inspired, armed, and directed from the outside"—e. g. Greece—might be regarded as an "armed attack," calling for consultation and possible military action.
- He further made it clear in his broadcast that the treaty **does** (Art. 3) bind the United States to rearm the other signatories.

WHO DECIDES? The point at which Dean Acheson ceased to be candid is a crucial one.

If and when the U.S.A. is asked by its new allies, or any of them, to send troops to fight abroad—for the purpose of suppressing a revolution, resisting what may be a deliberately provoked attack, or perhaps embarking, a la Churchill, Bevin, & Co., on the "liberation" of Eastern Europe from "communist enslavement" — who in Washington will make the decision as to what action under Art. 5 is "necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area"?

The Secretary implied, but was most careful **not** to say, that the decision would rest with Congress. "That decision will rest where the Constitution has placed it."

CONGRESS HELPLESS. Under the Constitution, however, the President as Commander-in-Chief can order troops to fight abroad without consulting Congress. He has done so many times, as in the intervention in Russia in 1918-19. Congressional vigilance and public criticism have often served as a deterrent.

Never before has the President been in a position to argue that such action is permitted or required in order to fulfill the terms of a treaty of alliance. If the Atlantic Pact is ratified in its present form, Congressional power to **declare** war will become meaningless in view of Executive authority to **wage** war under the terms of the treaty, with no Congressional consultation whatever.

Senatorial arguments that such an arrangement would be "unconstitutional" are highly dubious. Treaties have the same status as the Constitution itself as part of the law of the land. The Supreme Court (299 U.S. 304) has held that Congress may constitutionally delegate to the Executive its powers in the field of foreign affairs, either by statute or by treaty.

Under the Pact as written, Congress is bound to rearm western Europe, the Executive is bound to defend the **status quo** abroad, and Congress is left helpless to prevent the White House, State, and Pentagon from deciding that armed hostilities are required to carry out the obligations assumed.

MILITARIZED AMERICA? Our foreign policy is still shaped and conducted in large measure by the military, as the Hoover Commission has clearly shown. Our economy and our society will inevitably and increasingly be militarized as the only possible means of implementing the Pact effectively as it is now written.

The Pact therefore means the advent in America of a "Garrison-State," in which authority to initiate armed conflict will have passed completely out of the hands of the elected representatives of the people.

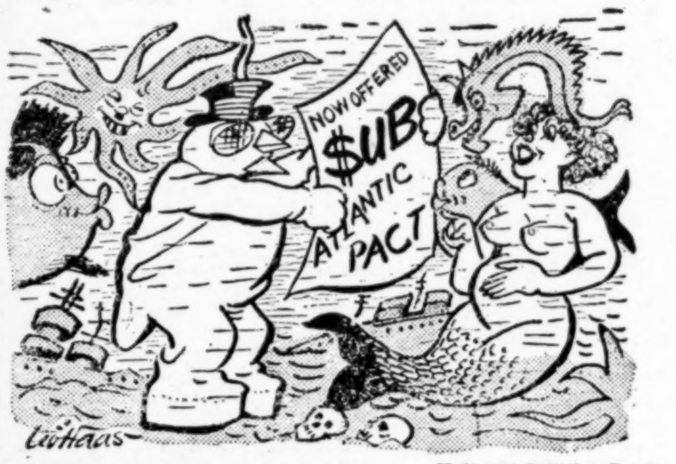
This prospect can still be averted without scrapping the pact **in toto**—if the Senate deems its other provisions useful and necessary. Let the Senate strike out Art. 3 of the treaty. Let it insert the word "unprovoked" before the words "armed attack" wherever they appear in the text. And let it add a reservation to the effect that the decision as to the use of American armed forces abroad shall be made in every case by Congress and not by the Executive.

THE ONLY WAY. Western European legislators desirous of retaining their own authority over decisions of peace and war would be well advised to insist on similar changes in the text.

Only in this fashion can the parliaments and peoples of the Atlantic communities be certain that the pact will not result in total militarism, and will not give an opportunity to irresponsible strategists and diplomats to precipitate an armed combat which is wholly unnecessary and would be wholly disastrous to all.

Action, Paris

Easter Outfit—Atlantic Pact style



Kulturni Politika, Prague

"Just sign this with a ball-point pen."

The nightmare goes on

THE author of this article, editor of the suppressed Communist daily "Rizospatis" and regarded by the Greek people as their first resistance hero after Greece was occupied in 1941, was sentenced to death in absentia by the Nazis for the act he describes below—tearing the Swastika flag from the Acropolis at Athens. He is now awaiting death at the hands of his own countrymen, after a second court-martial since the war on the charge of "inciting the people to revolt." His crime was publishing an article by the guerrilla Nicholas Zachariadis.

Only world-wide protests saved Glezos from death after the first post-war court-martial. Following the second death sentence, which should have been carried out by March 13, Glezos' execution has again been postponed as a result of hundreds of protests to Premier Sophoulis, but the sentence has not yet been commuted.

By Manolis Glezos

MAY 30, 1941, at dusk: a huge concentrated nightmare, the Swastika, was lying heavily on Athens. Laki and I, who went to the same school and university, clasped each others' hands silently. Walking near the walls, we entered the narrow streets of the Plaka quarter.

At the Propylaia entrance of the Acropolis the German guards were laughing with drunken delight over their "victories." We quickly jumped over the barbed wire. The pine trees were protectively hiding us till we reached the cave of Agravlou, on the rock of the Acropolis. The wooden door of the cave gave way easily. Our hands caressed the scaffolding and our feet brought us up lightly.

Breathlessly we surveyed the surroundings. On our right were the Propylaia, on our left, the Erechthion and before us, the Parthenon. High and stately they appeared; the broken scattered pieces of marble made strange shapes in the moonlight.

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EVERY now and then we threw a small stone to our right. If a guard was around he would run toward that direction and we would be able to see him. Yet only the dry sound of the stone cut the silence.

And here we are! The circular little wall at the base of the flag was in front of us. Was there, perhaps, a guard around here? We pressed ourselves and became one with the wall while trying to hear. Nothing was to be heard except the far-off breath of Athens that was sleeping in anxiety during the night of slavery.

With a jump we reached the flagpole, unwound the wires and started pulling. But the wires would not respond; they had got tangled. I climbed the pole, grabbed the flag and pulled. No result. A second attempt met with the same fate.

"Your turn, Laki," I said.

He, too, was unsuccessful. Growing angry, I climbed up for the third time. With hands and teeth I hung on the flag. Yet it remained unmoved.

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GROWN tired, we sat on the marble fragments and looked at it. We even forgot the Germans at the Propylaia.

Three wires were holding the pole.

"It must have got tangled up there," Laki said.

We unwound these wires too and grabbed the iron pole. That did it. In a jiffy the flag fell upon us and covered us. We soon disentangled ourselves and embraced each other, mad with happiness.

"I think we are late, Laki."

At that moment the moon disappeared behind the Aigaleo mountain. Each of us tore off a piece near the swastika, took it and returned by the same road. There is a dried-up well in the cave. In there we threw the pieces.

The pine trees hid us once more and the shadows of the narrow Plaka street took us under their protection.

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"WHY are you late, my son?"

"You will learn tomorrow, Mother. Tonight I am hungry. I want to go to bed."

I remained awake half that night. Many nights have passed since and many nights I have slept that way. Through the second occupation, in December 1944, when the British intervened, and during the years that have followed—always, in my half sleep, I have kept on believing that the end of the nightmare must be soon.

Drawing by Stefanelli

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The following telegram has been sent to Themistocles Sophoulis, Premier of the Royalist Greek government in Athens. Readers are urged to do likewise.

EDITORS AND STAFF OF NATIONAL GUARDIAN BELIEVING DEEPLY IN FREEDOM OF PRESS AND CAUSE FOR WHICH WORLD WAR WAS FOUGHT JOIN WORLDWIDE PROTEST AGAINST DEATH SENTENCE OF MANOLIS GLEZOS AND DEMAND IN NAME OF HUMAN DECENCY THIS SENTENCE BE SET ASIDE.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Peace battle

"GUESS where I am! Me! I'm at the Waldorf!"

That was the way one of the eastern European delegates to the Cultural and Scientific Conference on World Peace told a friend on the GUARDIAN staff he had broken through. It was like Private Hargrove telephoning from Berchtesgaden.

The conference, organized by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, had called cultural leaders of the world to come to New York last weekend to discuss the road to peace.

The road to New York was tough enough.

The U.S. State Dept. denounced the purpose of the meeting as communist, but announced that it would allow the delegates from eastern Europe to enter the country. (Their stay was limited to seven days.)

THE LINE. But the department drew the line at delegates from other countries. East Europeans, it was said, were on official business of their governments. Others were private persons with records and purposes deemed sinister. Their visas were canceled at the last minute.

The bad ones

Those banned were:

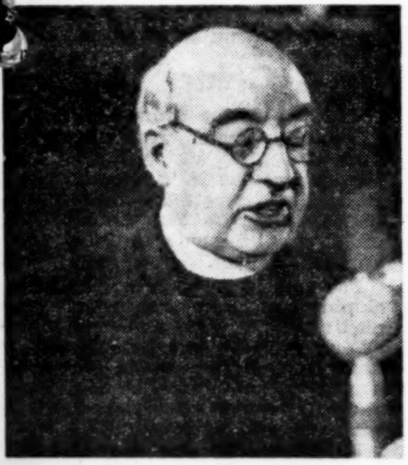
Prof. J. D. Bernal, physicist who helped plan the invasion of Europe on D-Day;

Louis Golding, author of the novel **Magnolia Street.**

Patricia Burke, popular British stage and screen star.

Dr. J. G. Crowther, author and scientist.

Paul Eluard, French poet.



Abbe Jean Boulier

Abbe Jean Boulier, Roman Catholic priest and professor of international law.

Mme. Eugenie Cotton, president of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

David Alfara Siquieros, Mexican painter.

Maria Michi, Italian screen star.

Carlos Augusto Leon, prize winning poet of Venezuela.

Candido Porenari, Brazilian painter.

Matei Socor, conductor of the Rumanian Broadcasting Co. symphony.

Emil Petrovibi, rector of Kluj University, Rumania.

RED LABEL. The State Department's explanations were complicated, its strategy blunt; but the effects achieved seemed neatly calculated. For the most part the overseas representation at the conference, originally as wide as the world's left wing, was limited to Eastern Europeans. It made it easier to pin a Russian label on the conference.

There were exceptions: Prof. Olaf Stapledon, philosopher, only British delegate to get a visa; and the Negro director of a North Ireland research center, Dr. Raphael E. G. Armattoe. He was questioned for two hours by immigration authorities but allowed to pass. He told newsmen after his interrogation: "What can I do? I definitely am not a Communist . . . I came to this country to attend a meeting concerning world peace, which is vital to all. I am a scientist, not a politician."

Fred Wright

"Poor O'Flanagan came up grey . . . he was buried by a scab."

DEWEY LABEL. Gov. Thomas E. Dewey took up the governmental ball, branded the meeting "a Communist Front affair," and urged attendance at a counter-meeting called by the quickly-formed Americans for International Freedom. Dr. Sidney Hook, New York University professor of philosophy, and Dr. George Counts of Columbia, both inveterate anti-communists, head the AIF.

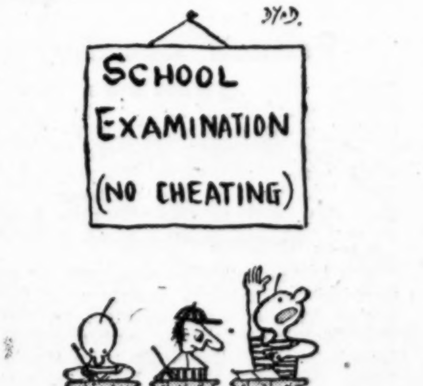
Spontaneous protest

From the government, which had set the stage and pinned the labels, the play was taken up by Richard M. McTigue, N.Y. County Commander of the Catholic War Veterans.

Under his guidance new organizations sprouted rapidly. Formed on the spot was the People's Committee for Freedom of Religion which on Wednesday promised picket lines of 100,000. By Thursday the estimate was down to 20,000. Police said they would permit "unrestricted demonstrating."

GETTING GOING. McTigue said: "We are going to show Stalin and his stooges that straight-thinking Americans are not going to be hoodwinked by this conference. . . We want our mass picket lines to be a spontaneous protest."

The spontaneous protest was planned to include "prayers for an end of intolerance and tyranny," to exhibit crepe-covered flags, photographs of Cardinal Mindszenty, the Crucifix and the Star of David.



Daily Worker, London

"Please, teacher, there's a Spy Ring operating in our midst."

Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, executive director of the American Jewish League against Communism, joined the forces rallying to the picket lines before the week-end. Herbert Paul Wirth, commander of the American Legion, said that his outfit "would get going right away."

At the conference itself, Henry Wallace was high among the scheduled speakers.

LINE UP. Writers, artists and scientists in widely scattered parts of the world were lining up as the week ended. To Dr. Harlow Shapley of Harvard, conference chairman, came greetings from George Bernard Shaw; Premier Jawarharlal Nehru of India; Martin Andersen-Nexo, Danish winner of the Nobel prize for literature; Sybil Thorndyke, English actress; Diego Rivera, Mexican painter.

Familiar names

To Professor Sidney Hook came friendly messages from T. S. Eliot, John Dewey and John Dos Passos, literary and philosophical stalwarts of the struggle against progress.

THE WORKING PRESS. On Friday noon the guests from overseas met the press. Reporters were impatient with the prepared statements. At question time they argued, heckled, coaxed. Two persons read off long lists of allegedly vanished Russians, while others chorused "shut up."

The newsmen stumbled over every foreign name; they asked for innumerable repetitions and spellings. They struggled for fresh points of attack. They worked very hard and the guests seemed genuinely sorry for them all.

Outside the hotel about 200 pickets paraded, women intoning the words of "God Save America" with interpolated Hallelujahs; men shouting wildly: "Kill the Red killers," "We're against Reds, foreigners, the UN and all it stands for." A GUARDIAN reporter asked one picket to repeat the last slogan. He did.

One man yelled: "Let the intellectuals go back to Russia!" Another: "Let's blow them out of the hotel!"

A German anti-fascist watching the scene said sadly: "These are exactly the same people who marched in Berlin in 1933."

Rush a Lysenko

Amid flying barbs of the press, shouts of pickets, denunciations from government and pulpit, the conferees who came together to exchange ideas for peace sat down to dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria on Friday evening.

(Next week's GUARDIAN will carry the full story of the conference.)

The Russians were invited by the National Assn. of Manufacturers to tour factory centers after the conference. The invitation was dignified and straightforward.

On Thursday evening word came that Paul Lysenko, brother of the Russian scientist, was being rushed by plane from Germany. The Americans for Intellectual Freedom hoped to have him on hand by Saturday morning for their counter rally. The **New York World-Telegram** said: "High government officials hailed the move as a psychological master-stroke."

At the same time the State Dept. issued a mystifying white paper in which it claimed that Russian leaders realized a free flow of information would "weaken their iron grip on the Soviet people."

They stood firm

The attack on the conference won some victories. By Friday some sponsors had dropped out. These included: columnist Franklin Pierce Adams, actor Canada Lee and radio commentator Lisa Sergio. Earlier, the Americans For International Freedom had announced the withdrawal of Prof. Rexford Guy, Tugwell of the University of Chicago, Prof. Ernest Hocking of Harvard and Rev. Karl M. Chworowsky, Brooklyn Unitarian Minister. On Friday these said emphatically that they had not withdrawn. Rev. Chworowsky said: "I refuse to be high-pressured and my name stands."

PROTESTANT'S PROTEST. On Thursday Protestant leaders wired to Secretary Acheson protesting the exclusion of Abbe Boulier. Among the 17 signers of the protest were the editors of the principal Protestant publications, leaders of all Protestant denominations and professors of four seminaries. They referred to the Abbe as "a Roman Catholic priest, an eminent scholar and during the war one of the most courageous and effective leaders of the Free Resistance against the Nazi occupation."

Winnie's In

SOME of last week's visitors did not have to pound at the gates. The Churchill family came in triumph. As the Queen Elizabeth steamed up the bay reporters and photographers filled the ship's theatre to interview the pink-cheeked wartime premier.

He said he came to express "the thanks we all feel on the other side for the many things the United States has done for the world." The warrior, in polka-dot bow tie, said he had just re-read his Fulton, Mo., speech. When he delivered it three years ago it charted the Truman doctrine and the cold war. Now, he said, he thought it "behind the times."

DIFFICULT TO FEED. That seemed to indicate what might be expected from his speech at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology March 31. It would be a speech "of some importance" he said. On the trip over he had worked two secretaries almost steadily, often as late as 1 a.m. They didn't complain, but a dining room steward called him a "most difficult man to feed." (He would ask for Irish stew when it wasn't on the menu.)

When the ship tied up he made the "V" sign with his fingers and smiled benignly. With him were his wife, his daughter, Mary, and his son-in-law, Capt. Christopher Soames. The whole party was whisked off in the limousine of Bernard Baruch.

On Thursday the Churchills dined in Washington with the Trumans. It was a "black tie" affair at Blair House.

Continued on following page

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page

On Friday they were expected at the Henry Luces of **Life**, which has been serializing the Churchill memoirs.

Just Bees

Also on the Queen Elizabeth was British Labor Party leader Harold Laski. He had come for a lecture tour, but no sooner had he arrived than word came that his talks at the University of California at Los Angeles had been canceled. Dr. Laski said: "I have done nothing to make the University of California mad." He was invited to speak at Harvard Law School.

WHAT ELSE. Meanwhile, at the University of California at Berkeley, another foreign guest was talking to the students. Field Marshall Viscount Alexander, Governor General of Canada, told the students that the bee was a fine example of communism. He said: "They have remained just bees for a million years."

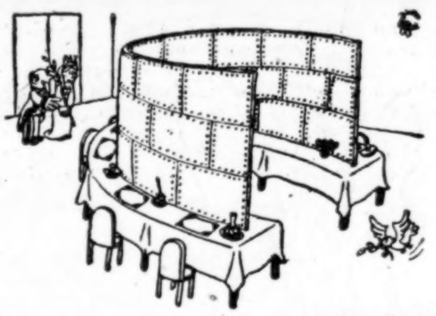
5,000 Iranians

IN IRAN Monday was New Year's Day, which Iranians call No-Ruz. And from Washington came the voice of President Harry S. Truman tossing out the first broadcast in the Voice-of-America's Iranian season.

It will take seven short-wave transmitters in the U.S., a relay at Munich and the extensive facilities of the British Broadcasting Co. to bring to the Iranians a half-hour program nightly.

Of the 17,000,000 Iranians no more than 5,000 have radios. GUARDIAN's Iranian expert classified radio owners this way: 250 generals, 500 colonels, 120 members of parliament, 600 physicians (half of the nation's medical men), 500 directors general and inspectors general in the civil service. The other 3,000 are probably the war-rich and U.S. advisers.

During the war, the privileged few would sometimes set their radios on the window sills so that the crowd outside might catch the broadcast from Berlin.



Action, Paris

". . . and finally it was decided to have an iron curtain horseshoe table."

APPENDIX. Iranians, Greeks and Turks were told last week by Secretary of State Dean Acheson that the U.S. had lost none of its interest in the "independence of the Middle East."

It seemed to presage a Middle East appendix to the Atlantic Pact. (See Hitschmann, Page 3).

Wonderland Pact

That Pact continued to draw its share of tirades and tributes. Midway between was the comment of John Foster Dulles, who said that it could be shown to be clearly defensive but "on the other hand military planning under it might seem to be offensive and suspicious to ill-informed people, such as those in the Kremlin, who might think it provocative of war. I am not so much concerned with the language of the Pact as what might be done under it."

Students of the text of the Pact wondered whether to read between the lines any U.S. commitment to lend it some reality by shipping armaments and troops to western Europe.

UP TO U.S. The **New Statesman and Nation,** authoritative British weekly, said that "unless America undertakes the effective military occupation of Western Europe, the Atlantic Pact may actually increase the risks not merely of non-signatories like Sweden, but even of the European signatories themselves, since without providing adequate defence it may provoke the very attack which it is designed to deter."

The well-informed **Wall St. Journal,** in an editorial, seemed to confirm what GUARDIAN political experts had been reporting: that Washington has no intention of implementing the Pact with such troops and arms as would make it a military reality.

"An arms program," the paper commented with curious logic, "will not make [the Pact] more powerful. It is highly doubtful if $1,000,000,000 or $5,000,000,000 worth of arms can defend the eastern frontier of western Europe if the Soviet Union should reverse its policy and attack. . . . It is not good sense to weaken the bastion by vainly trying to strengthen the outposts."

If the outposts weren't willing to defend themselves and the bastion wasn't willing, many wondered what, when or whom the Pact was going to defend.

BOLD NEW INVESTORS. Commercial policies of the U.S. were less vague. To Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, the National Assn. of Manufacturers submitted its plan to implement President Truman's "bold new program."

The program was to be carried on by private companies. Governments would "only assist in the creation of conditions favorable to such private investment." The businessmen guessed that about $2,000,000,000 could be invested abroad after 1952.

The report warned that "existence of governments committed to the nationalization of industry do not instill confidence in the future of the country or attract private funds." Bold New investors were also advised to "avoid countries which may be linked to other countries in ways which constitute a war hazard."

Trybuna Wolnosci, Warsaw

"Listen, Johnny, we've got to watch the East very carefully."

French apathy

FROM Paris GUARDIAN's Stanley Karnow wrote last week: "After the cantonal elections anybody trying to determine which way the political wind was blowing in France would think he was in the doldrums." In the cities 40% of those eligible failed to vote; in the countryside the figure was 30%.

The Communists received 22% of the popular vote, almost exactly what they polled in the same districts in 1945. The Socialist coalition, embracing the Moderate Republicans and the Radical Socialists, polled 52% in 1945. Last week they won only 32%; the difference went to the de Gaullists, who polled 25%.

Communists, however, will elect fewer deputies in the final count because their votes are concentrated in highly populated industrial areas.

Half of the contests were indecisive and were to be completed in run-off elections on March 27. The government parties were expected to unite to defeat Communist candidates. **New York Times** correspondent Lansing Warren said: "They are expected to unite with the de Gaulists only when it is necessary to beat a Communist."

"Hello, would you like to hear how

Canard Enchaine,

A meeting of great minds.

China tea

IN MOSCOW the Chinese Ambassador Foo Ping-sheung was sipping fragrant tea with correspondent Joseph Newman of the **N. Y. Herald Tribune.** He had just received a telegram from Premier Gen. Ho Ying-chin of China, ordering him home to take over as Foreign Minister.

Foo sipped sherry when he was not sipping tea, and then nibbled some chocolate. He smiled and said: "Wouldn't it be like jumping into the fire? . . . I am now 54 and I don't want to die. I would like to retire now and live the rest of my life quietly while I can still enjoy it."

Foo is a veteran of complicated Chinese politics. He wrote what he now calls the "unfortunate Chinese constitution."

"I think people live longer in New Zealand," he said as he pondered his appointment.

GRAVY TRAIN STOPS. Other cabinet appointees of Gen. Ho's were in China. It was understood they had accepted. The Communists, who had been hovering on the banks of the Yangtse, announced that peace talks would start "very soon."

In Washington the U.S. appropriation for China was due to run out in April and it seemed unlikely that any

Max Werner

France wants U.S. to send her only 100 divisions

THE publication of the Atlantic Pact does not solve France's military problem.

Four weeks ago M. Queuille, the French Premier, in a blunt and frank interview asked for France's defense by the U.S. to the east of the Rhine line and without delay. In military terms these French demands can be interpreted only in this way:

One hundred to 150 U.S. divisions are to be deployed in Central Europe, on the Elbe or even on the Oder line; furthermore, France should be protected by the U.S. permanently, in time of peace, and not after a U.S. mobilization.

These demands may appear almost inconceivable in the United States, yet at best M. Queuille has knocked down the optimistic hypocrisy concerning France's strategic situation. He did not promise French self-defense, but requested defense by the U.S. and U.S. alone. The strategic plan he presented is undoubtedly the French concept of the Atlantic Pact.

DAY DREAMS. After M. Queuille's appeal it became obvious that France's conversion to a military power was an irresponsible illusion.

I predicted months ago that French demands on the United States would be made soon and that they would be stunning. The famous French 24 first line divisions are a day dream.

M. Camille Lougeron, France's foremost military expert and former counsel to the French Ministry of the Navy, has even surpassed Prime Minister Queuille in his strategic scepticism. In his new book **La Prochaine Guerre** ("The Next War") he is firmly convinced that in case of war France and western Europe cannot be held by their own forces, and not even by the U.S. forces.

He warns the U.S. that if it accepts a big scale continental land war in order to rescue weak and militarily bankrupt allies, it will lose. In his opinion the attempt to defend western Europe would be a trap for U.S. strategy. He suggests for the U.S. a technological war in which we are strong, not a land war in which we are weak.

SOLUTION: PEACE. M. Rougeron is not an amateur, but one of the world's leading military brains. Furthermore his assessment comes very close to the opinion of our own proponents of air power. A leading French expert admonishes the United States not to waste its forces in a futile attempt to defend France: a peculiar illustration indeed to the political and military chaos of our time.

M. Rougeron's own suggestion is bold and catastrophic. He offers an evacuation, not merely an evacuation of Europe by U.S. forces, but the evacuation of western European population.

He insists on a population transfer from western Europe carried on gigantic scale by air transport; all in all, a combination of a Dunkirk with a Berlin air lift, a hundred times multiplied.

The ghastly picture reveals an unprecedented crisis of French military thinking, and the deadlock in traditional military planning in general.

Yet the conclusions are clear: since western Europe cannot be defended effectively by war, she can be defended only by peace.

Dave Pascal

ow I solved my housing problem?"

more would be forthcoming. The State Department in a formal report had frowned on the bill by Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.) to grant $1,500,000,000 more to the Chiang Kai-shek regime. Sen. McCarran said that in effect U.S. had decided to "let China go."

World Briefs

- At the Security Council at Lake Success the U.S. finally dropped its support of the Indonesians, and went along with a Canadian proposal supporting round-table talks at The Hague. Netherlands Delegate van Royen commented happily: "No wonder the prestige of the Council was declining . . . taking up a matter with which it was not entitled to deal." U.S. delegate Warren Austin said: "Praise God, the Security Council would never have to deal with enforcement."
- In Berlin the Western powers decreed the West German mark to be the only currency in west Berlin. Authorities declared, "We are ready for any retaliatory measures." None came from the Russians.
- Israel signed an armistice with Lebanon. Syria was next to enter negotiations. Transjordan asked for British help to defend the border against alleged raids by Israelis.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Homebody

BERNARD M. BARUCH, the venerable adviser of presidents, last week said Harry Truman held "the most difficult post of any President, even George Washington and Abraham Lincoln."

The President last week thought he might best stick to his difficult perch by sitting on it tightly, quietly, smilingly. He canceled four speaking engagements, passed up a degree from Boston College, declined a dinner to honor Chaim Weizmann, and backed out of the ceremony to lay the cornerstone of the permanent headquarters building of the United Nations.

Harold Stassen was to pinch-hit on one speaking date; the President would go without his Boston degree; Chaim Weizmann would forgive; but to UN officials the President's declination seemed pointed and ominous. Secretary General Trygve Lie postponed the laying of UN's cornerstone indefinitely.

OTHER CHEEK. At his desk the President said that there had always been a close relationship between himself and the Congress "despite what the newspapers reported," and that disputes over civil rights and other aspects of his program could not alienate him from the legislators. He said that he and Congress would "continue to work for the good of the country." And as he turned his other cheek and smiled last week the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition pulled the teeth out of his rent controls.

Happy lobby

By 68 to 10 the Senate adopted a bill that would allow state governors or state legislatures to decontrol rents in their areas.

The President had denounced the real estate lobby as "the real enemy of the American home," but there was little in the Senate bill to make the real estate lobby unhappy.

The Administration had asked a straight two-year extension of controls with tightened provisions. The Senate cut it down to 12 months, with three months' grace during which eviction curbs would remain effective. For the rest, controls were loosened, not tightened.

WASHINGTON SPECIAL. The Senate bill would allow rent increases of from 10% to 15% over a 12-month period. It eliminates criminal penalties for landlords who violate regulations.

The Senate measure is not far from the one passed by the House, which allows city and county governments to decontrol rents and promises a "reasonable return" on "reasonable value" to landlords. Both houses will go into conference to iron out these minor differences; the final result seemed certain to be a repudiation of the President's pledges.

Ici Paris

"Here are the new rent regulations, in case you're interested."

But rent control for Congressmen was a different matter. By an overwhelming vote of 247 to 117, after only 30 minutes' debate, the House adopted a rent control bill for the District of Columbia, where legislators live. It contained every one of the rigid provisions—plus two extra ones—that were rejected for the nation.

Senate briefs

Also in the Senate last week:

Louis A. Johnson was unanimously approved as Secretary of Defense after he agreed to submit in writing a declaration that he has severed all connections with firms doing business with the government. (He was a director of Consolidated Vultee Aircraft and of General Aniline and Film Corp., chief U.S. subsidiary of the German chemical trust I. G. Farben).

Michael W. Straus, chief of the Reclamation Bureau, who was removed from the payroll by the 80th Congress, was kept off again by the Senate Appropriations Committee. He has been criticized for his liberal policies of protecting small landholders.

The Senate Labor Committee approved a $300,000,000 educational bill, and a companion measure to provide $35,000,000 annually for state health services to school children.

Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, was appointed by Gov. Kerr Scott to fill out the term of the late Democratic Sen. J. Melville Broughton. The appointment was hailed by liberals and the President but was attacked by some senators, one of whom charged Graham "is just a little bit soft on Communist-front organizations."

Graham served as honorary president of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and has been associated with a number of liberal organizations. But he told a **N. Y. Herald Tribune** reporter: "I have supported the Marshall Plan from the beginning," and "I am certainly favorable toward the Atlantic Pact."

Rankin uproar

In the House last week:

The Labor Committee, by a vote of 13 to 10, approved the Administration's labor bill unchanged after extensive hearings. The vote was taken at a closed session after 15 minutes' discussion with amendments barred by the committee majority. But opponents freely predicted the measure will take a mauling when it reaches the House floor. An identical bill is awaiting action in the Senate.

An uproar lasting three days finally defeated by one vote—208 to 207—a pension bill offered by Rep. John E. Rankin (D-Miss.), which would have given veterans of both world wars $90 a month at 65. Most members thought it a bad bill, but for two days lacked courage to oppose it on a roll-call vote. On the second day of debate the measure became so snarled in amendments that the House recessed in "a state of utter confusion." On the third day it was killed by a vote to send it back to committee for further study. The bill, said Rankin sadly, is "dead for this session." Some Congressmen still talked of reviving it.

"AS GOOD AS DEAD." The Labor Committee approved a provision in the Fair Labor Standards Act which would exempt employers from paying time-and-a-half overtime under certain conditions in return for a guaranteed annual wage. The measure is scheduled for the floor next week.

A key spokesman said the President's proposal for direct federal home relief for needy persons "is as good as dead." Hearings on the measure came to an end.

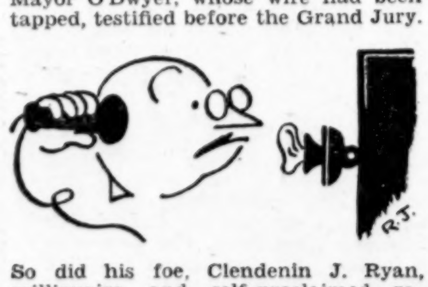
A 70-group air force was voted 395 to 3 against the President's budget recommendation. An attempt by Rep. Vito Marcantonio to write a Fair Employment Practices amendment into the bill was defeated.

The Committee on Un-American Activities scheduled its first hearings for April 18. The American Slav Congress was to be investigated, with Steve Nelson, a Communist Party organizer, listed as the first witness.

JUNIOR. The race to succeed the late Sol Bloom in the House was under way in New York. Prime contender was Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. The Liberal Party was prepared to back him. Tammany Hall was giving him trouble. Roosevelt was considering an independent candidacy if the Democratic nomination should be denied. He has been on the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Last week it was still not known whether Gov. Dewey would call a special election or let the seat go vacant until November.

Assorted bores

AFTER two weeks New York had enough of its wire-tapping scandal. Mayor O'Dwyer, whose wire had been tapped, testified before the Grand Jury.



So did his foe, Clendenin J. Ryan, millionaire and self-proclaimed reformer of big city government.

"Both sides are bores," said Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP). "In my opinion a procurer is more of a gentleman than a wire tapper.

"The people of New York are the real losers in this row. On Saturday I sat from 1 o'clock till 10:30 at night listening to people in my district affected by unemployment. The people aren't primarily concerned with this wire-tapping business. They are more concerned about the way the city is being run."

Not all showed concern in the same way. Twenty-five persons in Marcantonio's district were said to have called on Frank Costello in his home on Central Park West. Costello is a slot machine executive who has been described as a racketeer and a great power in the city. They came to ask him to run against Marcantonio in the next elections, according to the **New York Enquirer.**

The paper pointed out that in the last 15 years Costello had given more than $500,000 to curb juvenile delinquency. Costello has confessed he owned his first gun when he worked as a bootlegger at the age of 16.

Barnum at Oak Ridge

SOME 35,000 people live in Oak Ridge, Tenn. But until last week no map showed the road to it; the name of their town was omitted from postal guides; high barbed wire fences guarded the town from the world. Many thought the world might well be guarded from the town, for Oak Ridge was built to house the workers who produce the atomic bomb.

Last week the U.S. declassified the town from top secret to confidential. On hand for the ceremony of cutting a ribbon by atomic energy were Vice President Alben Barkley, Sen. Brien McMahon (chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee), David Lilienthal (chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission), Adolphe Menjou, several generals, Marie (The Body) McDonald and the cowboy star Rod Cameron with fawn-colored shirt and horse.

Martin Agronsky, American Broadcasting Company commentator, reported that Adolphe Menjou "delivered himself of a series of resounding, highly dignified and fantastically trite

phrases on the importance of the atom bomb and, of course, of keeping the secret of the bomb forever and ever." The Vice President told Agronsky he wondered what the Kremlin would think of it all.

Memorable words

ON Monday morning Federal Attorney F. X. McGohey stood up in New York's Federal Court, cleared his throat, professionally twirled his eyeglasses and opened the government's case against the 11 leaders of the Communist Party.

The government's contention was that the Communists had reconstituted their party in 1945 to teach and advocate the principles of Marxism-Leninism. "Remember those words, ladies and gentlemen of the jury—Marxism-Leninism. You will hear them often," he warned.

He charged the Communist leaders with publishing and circulating the **Communist Manifesto, State and Revolution** by Lenin, **Foundations of Leninism** by Stalin, and the **Daily Worker.** These works summed up the principles, the attorney said, by which it was hoped to overthrow the government by force and violence.

It seemed to foreshadow an eventual

Continued on following page

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page

banning of those works, now found in most well-stocked public libraries.

NO ALIBI. When Attorney McGohey was through, Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, a tall man with iron-grey hair, stood at the pulpit-like desk before the jury box. He spoke in a low voice, almost tremulous at times. He said the defendants would "offer no alibi in this case to prove they were somewhere else at the time."

The defense would prove, he said, that he and his colleagues hatched no conspiracy in 1945 but instead hammered out quite a different program. He tried to present that program. Judge Harold R. Medina ruled again and again that all that was irrelevant.

The tactical problem was how to defend the Communists' program without presenting it.

Battleship plot

On Wednesday the prosecution produced its first witness, billed as a surprise.

It was Louis Budenz, managing editor of the **Daily Worker** until his reconversion to Catholicism in 1945. Since then he has testified so often before legislative committees and grand juries against persons generally catalogued as "communists" that the picture he drew had become universally familiar.

The U. S. Communist Party, which has numbered 100,000 at its peak, was charged with devising what the **N. Y. Times** described as "a program of military measures including poison gas, airplanes and battleships to seize power and set up a 'Soviet America' dictatorship."

Earl Browder, general secretary of the Party from 1930 to 1945, figured in McGohey's opening arguments as the advocate of class peace overthrown by his allegedly more violent successors. The Communists said they expected him to be used as a government witness but Browder said he wanted to testify for the defense.

Hunger

TWO months ago it was called a "post-war adjustment," last month a "seasonal adjustment," last week a "cyclical downturn." Whatever they

called it, people were buying less in stores, stores were ordering less from factories, factories were shipping less by railroads, and at each step people were being laid off.

Last week San Francisco saw its first hunger march since 1937 when hunger, like marches, was commonplace. There are 50,000 out of work in the city, including 40% of the Negro working population. Two hundred unemployed members of CIO unions marched on the San Francisco City Hall. They called for a relief budget of $1,575,000, a municipal Fair Employment Practices Act, public works, low-rent housing.

Throughout the nation unemployment was officially set at 3,500,000, but that figure excluded those "temporarily laid off" and those who work as much as one afternoon a week.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations as a whole, though, saw no hunger marches in the cards. The CIO Community Services Committee announced that it would ask local CIO Councils to work through municipal governments to bring labor and management together around conference tables.

"TONGUE IN CHEEK." In Connecticut some textile mills were slowing down; some were moving south where labor costs were less. Gov. Chester A. Bowles suggested that northern mills subsidize the CIO to organize southern mill hands and so equalize the competition.

Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers Union (CIO), said he assumed the governor's proposal had been made "with tongue in cheek." He continued: "A large proportion of southern mills are controlled by northern interests who, in their southern plants, have fought the union as bitterly as any other group of mill owners."

Shotgun wedding

Last November the executive board of the CIO solemnly ordained the marriage of the left-wing Farm Equipments Workers and the right-wing United Automobile Workers. The UAW was willing. The FE objected to the use of shotguns at the ceremony. Its officers said, "We don't propose to lie back and enjoy it."

FE did not decline the proposal directly. So serious a step, its officers insisted, was a matter for the members only to decide. The courting was rough. UAW leaflet distributors heckled FE members, denouncing their union as communist. FE men objected. They slugged it out at plant gates.

On Friday FE delegates were gather-

ing at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to vote formally on the merger. They were not in a marrying mood. Earlier in the week Local 101, which represents 5,000 workers at the International Harvester Tractor Works, voted to pay just as much per capita tax to CIO to retain affiliation.

Miners go back

ON MARCH 28 the miners were expected back in the pits on orders from John L. Lewis. One reason for the two-week stoppage had been the appointment of Dr. James Boyd as director of the U. S. Bureau of Mines.

On Wednesday the Senate confirmed the appointment. The anger of John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, was sulphurous but few believed that Boyd's job was the major issue. Stockpiles of coal had dwindled during the two-week memorial stoppage. That meant that mines would be slower in closing down, that some miners would keep their jobs a little longer.

THREAT OF IMPROVEMENT. Those jobs were threatened by progress last week. An advance in technology seemed to be impending. It happened this way.

On a dock in New York some months ago a turbine and a huge compressor lay crated for shipment to Russia. The Bureau of Mines ordered them shipped to Alabama instead. There the Alabama Power Co. and the Bureau put the machine to work.

They dropped a thermite bomb into a sealed-off mine containing about 500,000 tons of coal. The useful gases of the coal were liberated underground and pumped to the surface.

Boon to Russians

If successful, the process would take the drudgery and the danger out of coal mining.

It seemed to "permit the reducing of working hours for everyone from eight hours to say seven or even less than that . . . render conditions of work more hygienic . . . relieve millions of workers of smoke, dust and dirt . . . speedup the conversion of filthy, abhorrent workshops into clean light laboratories worthy of man."

That was the way Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin put it not long after the Russian revolution. The Russians have been working coal mines like that since 1938. They will miss the machinery that's in Alabama. U.S. miners, fearing still more unemployment, will wish the stuff had gone to Russia.

Rotting empire

Chiang's warlords torn by hate, greed, stupidity

By Peter Townsend

SHANGHAI

THE authorities in Canton, the southern capital now rapidly becoming a focal point of the diehards, recently banned as "too revolutionary," the use of red cloth to cover rickshaw seats.

Though far removed from recognized civil war fronts, Canton is beginning to feel the pinch. Its local Kuomintang officials have been temporarily rescued from penury by taxi dancers—hostesses in the flourishing dance hills—who staged a charity ball for them, and at the same time averted a ban on their own profession. But its provincial troops, some 50,000 ill-equipped men, many of them raw recruits, are outnumbered by the fifty to sixty thousand guerrillas who effectively control large tracts of Kwangtung province.

GALLOPING ROT. Kwangtung is not the only province of south China from which come reports of immensely increased guerrilla activities, and spontaneous and successful peasant uprisings. Yunnan, Fukien and Kiangsi—all are troubled with the same upsurge of organized resistance to the Nationalists, which reaches even to the neighborhood of Shanghai.

The Nationalists are finding that the lull brought about by peace negotiations is reacting against them. The peace moves were intended to provide a breathing space, time to regroup their armies south of the Yangtze River—a few weeks or months of desperate re-evaluation of their chances, of training new divisions to support the tired and demoralized troops left to them, of putting their house in just enough order to win the approval, and best of all, dollars, of the United States. They cannot have expected the disintegration and rot to set in so fiercely.

SCRAPPING WARLORDS. Side by side with the growing power of the democratic forces within their own territory has come a growing disunity among the Nationalists themselves.

The pattern of warlord adventure, never deeply hidden even while Chiang Kai-shek held the reins, is coming to the surface. Nationalist territory is breaking down into five or more conflicting blocs.

The three Moslem governors of the Northwest are squeezing the Nanking government out of their territory, and the Nanking government not only must accept this but has Chennault's airline fly them arms. The west is in confusion, with the opium peddling warlord of Sikong threatening the provincial capital of the neighboring province of Szechuan, once the granary of Chiang's armies.

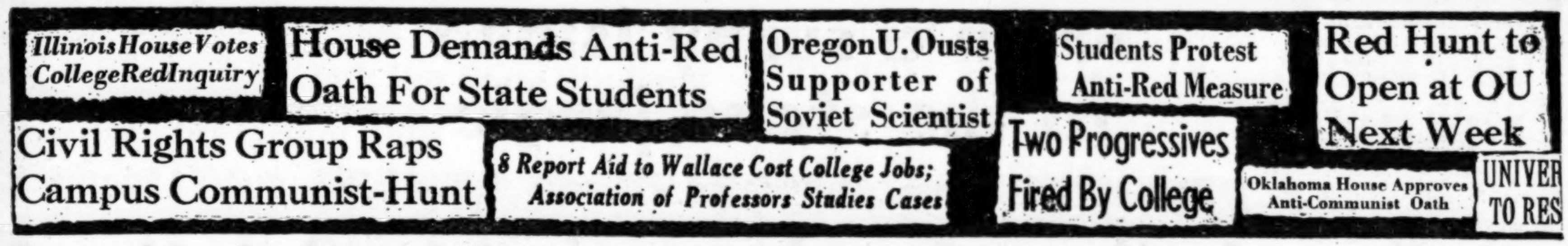
DISSOLUTION. The south is witnessing a struggle between Chiang Kai-shek's supporters and the Acting President Li Tsung-jen for a last resting place. Even in the Hankow-Nanking-Shanghai sector the power of the Acting President is questioned, and Shanghai is held firmly by Chiang's men. The island of Taiwan, in spite of strong undercurrents of opposition from the Taiwanese who have found their economy disrupted by the invasion from the mainland and their requests for some say in local government unanswered, is being built into a secure haven of refuge for the rightwing of the Kuomintang, with its administration looking to General MacArthur for help.

The Nationalists are a house divided against itself. Those who think they can salvage something from the ruins by negotiating for a local peace pull one way; those who believe there are enough pickings to be had by fighting pull another way.

Their troops scattered along a wide front or tied down deep in their own territory to keep watch against an overwhelmingly hostile population, they cannot hope to muster enough effective soldiers to hold the Yangtze against a Communist crossing or offer more than localized resistance. Nor can they unite and bring their resources together to strengthen their bargaining power in peace negotiations.

Southward from Nanking and Shanghai **By Hung Lin**

THE NATION


Illinois House Votes College Red Inquiry

House Demands Anti-Red Oath For State Students

Oregon U. Ousts Supporter of Soviet Scientist

Students Protest Anti-Red Measure

Red Hunt to Open at OU Next Week

Civil Rights Group Raps Campus Communist-Hunt

8 Report Aid to Wallace Cost College Jobs; Association of Professors Studies Cases

Two Progressives Fired By College

Oklahoma House Approves Anti-Communist Oath

UNIVER TO RES

A witch hunt is sweeping America's colleges

ACADEMIC freedom is under attack in every part of the United States. Progressives are fighting back, but dismissals of faculty members, gags on students, and legislative Red-hunts on campuses are spreading like a contagion.

Repression took on epidemic proportions during the last Presidential election campaign.

Nine educators were dismissed from the faculties of seven colleges and universities in the East, Midwest and South for actively supporting the candidacy of Henry Wallace.

But you don't have to belong to the Progressive Party to get kicked out of an American institution of higher learning. Dr. Richard C. Morgan, for 12 years curator of Ohio State Museum, was fired for opposing fascism (he had long been active in community work for better race relations). Prof. Lyman R. Bradley, head of the German department at New York University's Washington Square College, was fired because he helped organize relief for Spanish Republican refugees.

"FACULTY FOR HIRE." Last September T. Forest Akeley and his wife were fired from the faculty of Olivet College in Michigan for "ultra-liberal" views. The student body went on strike, but the dismissal held. This year four more faculty members, headed by Tucker Smith of the economics department, a Socialist, were fired on the same grounds.

In protest, 15 of the school's 35 teachers advertised themselves in a daily newspaper as "a faculty for hire" (they got one response from a school in Great Barrington, Mass.). A petition protesting the dismissals was signed by 180 of the school's 336 students. But the men were not reinstated. This month seven faculty members resigned, and at least 20 students quit the school in disgust.

At Langston University, a Negro school in Oklahoma, Prof. Roscoe Chesley was fired for chaperoning a group of 30 students who picketed the state capitol in protest against school segregation. A two-day student strike won an agreement that students be allowed to argue the case before the board of regents.

WASHINGTON PURGE. The rash of repression spread to the Far West. Three long-time professors at the University of Washington were fired in January; two at Oregon State College in February.

Two of the Washington victims, Associate Prof. Joseph Butterworth of the English department and Assistant Prof. Herbert J. Phillips of the department of philosophy, admitted membership in the Communist Party. The third, Associate Prof. Ralph Gundlach of the psychology department, said no one could prove he was a member but he couldn't prove he wasn't.

An 11-man faculty reported that the men were "without academic fault . . . competent as scholars . . . and objective as teachers." But Dr. Raymond B. Allen, president, said: "A Communist is incompetent to teach the truth."

The Pacific Division of the American Philosophical Assn. voted to "express their confidence in the integrity, as man and teacher, of Prof. Herbert J. Phillips." A letter signed by 418 of the nation's leading educators, protesting the dismissal of Gundlach, who is president of the Western Psychological Assn., contended that the issue was "whether the University of Washington is to take the unprecedented responsibility of going beyond a teacher's record of competent performance to establish a standard of political orthodoxy."

CAMPUS FISSION. Another protest, sponsored by the Bureau of Academic Freedom of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and signed by 150 leading educators, called the dismissals "a threat to our entire educational system."

Prof. Thomas I. Cook resigned from the University of Washington faculty in protest. Prof. Joseph B. Harrison called the firings a "tragic error." Prof. Edwin A. Euhling wrote that "the future of the University of Washington appears at this moment to be very dark . . . freedom of thought has been infringed, and an essential condition to further progress has been lost."

One professor called the case an "academic Hiroshima." Students organized a protest movement. And, in addition to the NCASP, both the American Assn. of University Professors and the American Civil Liberties Union are investigating the case.

OREGON "BUT." Down the coast, at Oregon State College at Corvallis, two junior faculty members were dismissed. President A. L. Strand admitted that their academic work was satisfactory; one of the men, Dr. Ralph W. Spitzer, had received "unprecedented" promotions and salary increases during his three years at the school.

But both he and Prof. L. R. LaVallee were associated with the Progressive Party and were married to Young Progressive undergraduates. At first President Strand denied that this was the cause for dismissals. "Anybody's politics is all right down here," he said, "but . . ."

Spitzer revealed that both he and his wife had been called in. Mrs. Spitzer was told a Young Progressive meeting would have to be called off. Spitzer was promised very good recommendations if he would leave "quietly and not raise any fuss."

Both professors raised a fuss. Dr. Strand called a staff meeting and indicated the real reason for Spitzer's firing: "He supports the charlatan Lysenko in preference to what he must know to be the truth."

It turned out that Spitzer, in a letter to the **Chemical and Engineering News** about an editorial calling attention to an "indictment" of Soviet science, had written: "In the interests of scientific objectivity, the editor might better have advised us to read the 536-page stenographic transcript of the last session of the V. I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Sciences." To Strand this was proof that Spitzer "goes right down the party line."

"DISCUSSION DISCOURAGED." As the lights dimmed from coast to coast,

- Wyoming University trustees ordered text books searched for dangerous thoughts.
- Temple University (Pa.) refused a charter to the Young Progressives.
- At Michigan State College, Navy vet James Zarichney was expelled three months before graduation because he attended an off-campus civil rights meeting at which one of the indicted Communist leaders spoke.
- At Triple Cities College in Endicott, N.Y., when a Catholic priest "demanded reparation" for a school paper article describing as "hysterical" some of the reactions to the Mindszenty trial, Dean Glenn G. Bartle publicly deplored that "a student writer under the guise of writing a column in the college weekly newspaper has written articles with a left-wing flavor . . . Such discussions will be discouraged . . ."

SNOOP AND SUICIDE. Campus snoop-committees of legislators maintain and increase the pressure—the Tenney Committee in California, the Canwell Committee in Washington. In New York the Hartley Committee on Labor and Education of the United States Congress hounds the Teachers Union, and the New York City Board of Education conducts its own witch-hunts. One high school teacher, Mrs. Minnie Gutride, committed suicide after a surprise grilling by her superiors.

In Oklahoma the legislature is investigating the faculty at the state university. Leading the probers is a 68-year-old farmer-legislator who boasts that his own schooling never went beyond the fourth grade.

In Illinois this month the legislature voted to conduct a Red-hunt on the campuses of both the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College. Progressives put up tremendous opposition, but only one legislator voted against the probe.

"The pattern of attack," says Dr. Kirtley Mather of Harvard University, "is ominously reminiscent of the techniques used by Hitler in the first years of his Nazi regime in ill-fated Germany."

Death

CONCORD, N. H.

Raymond J. Cirrotta, 21, a student at Dartmouth College, died last week "as a result of a dormitory scuffle." Six members of Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity, who invaded Cirrotta's room after heavy drinking "in bars run by veterans' organizations," have been suspended from school; one was arraigned on a manslaughter charge.

Reporting that the state House of Representatives had voted $3,500 for "exposure and expurgation of subversive activities," the **Concord Daily Monitor** headlined: HOUSE VOTES RED HUNT IN ENTIRE STATE.

Cirrotta, a war veteran, was an active Progressive and a member of the Dartmouth Wallace-for-President Club.

Herblock in the Washington Post

March of the Dwarfs.

Academic spaghetti

New York University is in the spaghetti, piston ring and leather businesses. Columbia has a $28,230,311 slice of Rockefeller Center. Union College, Schenectady, N.Y., owns the real estate ($16,250,000) of Allied Stores Corp. Oberlin College, Ohio, owns Montgomery Ward stores, a number of Woolworth buildings, several Sears Roebuck locations. Morningside College, Sioux City, Ia., owns the street car company of that city.

College-owned properties are tax-exempt because their earnings go for "educational purposes."

PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK

From a sunny island to the stone jungle

By Virginia Stevens

FOR 30 years since 1911 Puerto Ricans had been coming on to the U.S. mainland at the rate of 3,000 a year. In 1940 they totaled 60,000. A report by the Welfare Council of New York City said of them: "They assimilated readily . . . made excellent citizens."

After 1940 immigration of Puerto Ricans began to increase, and in 1945 it took a startling jump: they began coming in at the rate of 40,000 a year. In 1947 there were about 230,000 Puerto Ricans in the U.S., 98% of them in New York.

Of these, 60,000 live in East Harlem, part of the Congressional District represented by the American Labor Party's Vito Marcantonio.

WAR AND SUGAR. The cause of the migration lies in the state of the economy of this U.S. territory. During the war, work on Army and Navy bases on the island kept employment up. The war ended and the work stopped. Worse, thousands of sugar workers were thrown out of jobs when the restrictions on Puerto Rican sugar quotas went into effect to protect producers on the mainland.

Small-time air lines offered cheap transportation to the mainland, and Puerto Ricans flocked in when it became impossible to earn a decent living at home. Few had the money to go beyond New York, where rat-infested tenements in Manhattan's upper east side and Brooklyn's Greenpoint and Williamsburg districts were the only shelter they could find.

Speaking only Spanish, they huddle together in these city jungles, afraid to venture beyond their immediate neighborhood, afraid to let their children out to play in the crowded filthy streets.

THEY DON'T KNOW. For long periods they remain in ignorance of their rights as citizens, of their right to relief, medical care, schools and day nurseries. On a block in which 117 Puerto Rican families live, a Dept. of Welfare survey showed, only six families used the settlement house, five the nurseries and one the public library.

"Puerto Ricans face the toughest problem of any people in my district," Representative Marcantonio says. "They are the last hired, the first fired. They have two strikes against them: their color and their language difficulty."

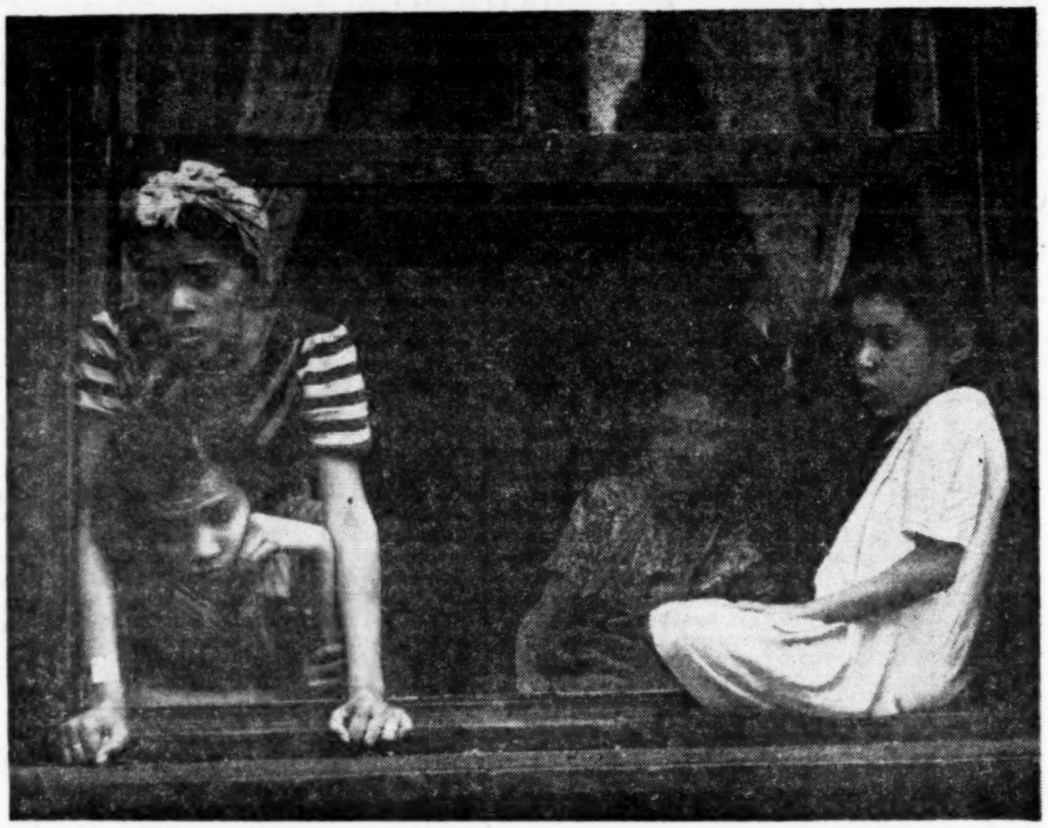


Photo by Helen Levitt

Marc does everything he can for them. A Puerto Rican Negro, Manuel Medina, on his personal staff works exclusively on Puerto Rican problems.

A PLACE TO LIVE. Marc's concern caused his enemies to circulate the malicious story during the last election that Marc himself had brought the Puerto Ricans into his district because "they promised him their vote." ("A degenerate Hearst journalist thought that one up," Marc grinned).

"Their worst problem is housing," Marc says. "In the last ten years there have been only two housing projects in East Harlem—the James Weldon Johnson houses we were able to push through during La Guardia's time, and the East River Houses. They are only a drop in the bucket. New York City needs 900,000 new housing units."

"WORK WITH OTHERS." In 1945 the Union Settlement House opened the Neighborhood Center for Block Organization in the heart of the Puerto Rican district. Its slogan was: "The individual can solve many of his problems only if he works with others on them."

Slowly and patiently the settlement workers went about gaining the confidence of the timid people. Leaders were developed in each block to plan community action.

It was a great day for the project when the first block committee began to survey housing violations on its street. Over 750 violations were found. The Dept. of Housing certified them. The landlords were notified. When they refused to remedy them, the committee took the violations to court.

"In a number of cases the group effort was successful," Marx Bowens, head of the Center, told me. Two blocks of children and teen-agers tackled refuse-covered lots and cleaned them up. The people raised money for play equipment and a supervisor. Mothers helped. Gradually the people learned what they could accomplish together.

FOR THE KIDS. Of all the groups the Puerto Ricans were the most eager to help the children, the Center found. "They still want their children," Bowens said. They come to the mainland with a tradition of big families, rich hospitality. Even in their crowded tenements no friend or relative in need is ever turned away.

But the jungle of refuse and rats and crumbling buildings is profuse and insidious. In Harlem rat bites are as frequent as the common cold. The most militant block organization faces indifferent Police and Fire Depts. and disinterested politicians in the Dept. of Housing.

The fire equipment in this area last year was reduced 50%. One thousand people signed a protest to the Commissioner. Nothing was done. Police protection is indifferent; East Harlem is dismissed as a "hot area." The Neighborhood Center itself lacks the necessary funds to keep going and will close in May unless money can be raised.

Still the Puerto Ricans keep coming; then, repulsed by the city jungles, homesick for their warm and sunny island, they struggle to go home again. Between January and September, 1948, 98,000 Puerto Ricans left the island, 70,000 returned.

In East Harlem, I was told, every block has its bank to which every family contributes. And when enough money has been accumulated for a plane fare, someone is chosen to return.

INDEPENDENCE BILL. "The place to solve the Puerto Rican problem is in Puerto Rico," Marcantonio told me. "Puerto Rico should have its independence and a government that would put a stop to the colonial exploitation by American b[illegible] business." He will introduce [illegible] Puerto Rican Independence Bi[illegible] in this session of Congress.

In January, Luis Mu[illegible] Marin became the first Governor to be elected by the people. All previous governors were appointed by the President. Marin, although against independence, promised the people much: distribution of land, cooperatives, social security, public health.

"He's liberal—like Truman," Marcantonio says. "Another stooge of American business. He's no New Deal. It's India slave wages all over again.It's the Southern Chamber of Commerce. It's the old, old deal. . . ."

Who's sagging lower—Fulton Lewis or the CIO high command?

By James Haddon

WASHINGTON

A RADIO commentator with a weak and sagging Hooper-rating put the powerful but ossified labor movement to shame these last four weeks in the fight for votes on the Taft-Hartley issue.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., radio voice of the NAM, outdid himself in bringing in forty to fifty thousand answers to a loaded quiz on Taft-Hartley. Lewis read 19 questions over the air, asking his listeners to mark "Yes" or "No" alongside the numbers and to send them in to their Senators. He, in turn, sent the numbers and questions to each Senator.

A few days later the Senate mail was so heavy, delivery was delayed several hours.

LOADED QUIZ. The questionnaire, Lewis admitted, was patterned on one drawn up by "a leading manufacturer".

It's no secret. The Lewis questionnaire stems from the General Electric Corporation's questionnaire published in various newspapers.

Lewis urged his listeners to take the questions down and to pass copies around to their friends. I saw dozens of carbon copies and hundreds of mimeographed lists of questions in various Senate offices. Many were sent in without names, so that the same person may have mailed tens and tens.

Typical question: "When a union requires an employer to pay money for work that has not been done, and will not be done, that is called featherbedding. Do you believe the law should forbid featherbedding?" With a question like that it's amazing that 1.6% (according to Senator Jenner of Indiana's analysis of the replies from his state) answered "No."

CIO TREMBLES. On one question Lewis apparently slipped up: "Do you believe it should be unlawful for a worker to be prevented from performing his job by the use of violence, force or intimidation?" If any question was ever phrased to bring a 100% "Yes" answer, this was it. But by Jenner's analysis, more than 25% answered "No".

Fulton Lewis took to the air again to "explain" this question more fully and, as if miracles will never cease, letters actually came into the Senate offices recording changes in answers on this question.

The CIO News has published a box on Taft-Hartley with the appeal that readers cut it out and mail it in to their Senators. If the CIO had been geared to a mass campaign on repeal of Taft-Hartley, the Lewis questionnaire could have been drowned by an avalanche of CIO mail.

TRUST HARRY. The CIO now uses its "influence" in the higher echelons and not its strength across the country. The box was yanked from the CIO News.

How far the CIO has moved from its tradition as a militant rank and file organization is demonstrated by the recent experience of one CIO representative, who brought to a "liberal" Congressman 20,000 signatures on a petition to repeal Taft-Hartley.

The Congressman protested that he could not take the petitions, as they were "against CIO policy". The representative assured him that they were not. The Congressman said he had better call CIO headquarters before accepting them. The representative pointed out that if the Congressman did not want to accept the petitions, they could be sent back to the workers with word that they had been refused. The Congressman decided to change his mind and took the petitions.

The day of mass campa[illegible] is over in the CIO. That field is being left to Fulton Lewis and his supporters.

• Round the Nation with the Guardian By-liners •

Massachusetts

How's the air up your way?

By Tad Sadowski

GARDNER

REV. EDWARD E. AIKEN of this town is wondering if the "iron curtain" isn't geographically misplaced.

He was one of several ministers invited to participate in a forum on local station WHOB. The topic—"How Do Americans View Religious Persecution in Europe?" — was based on the Mindszenty trial. Before the broadcast the clergymen were warned not to say anything that might antagonize Gardner's large Roman Catholic population.

When Mr. Aiken started to mention some of the Cardinal's political positions, using an article in **The Nation** as reference, he was immediately checked by the moderator, a minister.

Rev. Aiken (a Democrat, incidentally) wrote to the **Gardner News** explaining what he had tried to say over the air. The letter pointed to Mindszenty's opposition to land reforms, opposition to the school system and the threat of excommunication to Catholic critics.

The letter was returned to him. The editor wrote that he would consider a milder version. The second letter was returned with the explanation that, after all, the paper had decided to print nothing on the case.

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New York

Syracuse fights for its rights

SYRACUSE

LATE in the evening of March 7, the Syracuse Board of Education rescinded a permit for O. John Rogge's speech at Madison High School the following night. It started a civil rights snowball that will end

with action being brought against the city itself by the Young Progressives and ALP.

At first, school officials had refused to cancel the permit, feeling it would involve them in legal complications. Then Thurlow Southwick, head of the Un-American Activities Committee of the American Legion here and of the Onandoga Veterans Council, moved in and the permit was withdrawn.

The Rogge meeting was moved to cramped quarters in the Hotel Syracuse. In the course of a demonstration announcing the change, Irving Feiner, a student, was arrested on a charge of incitement to riot, and released on unprecedentedly high bail of $1,000. Trial is set for March 30.

A YPA-ALP sponsored Laura Duncan-Pete Seeger concert, scheduled for the 19th in the school auditorium, had its permit canceled too. The show moved to the steps of the City Hall, where 200 gathered.

The situation has aroused considerable comment in the papers and among the people of Syracuse, and the YPA is trying to evoke a strong enough protest to force Mayor Costello to dismiss the Feiner case.

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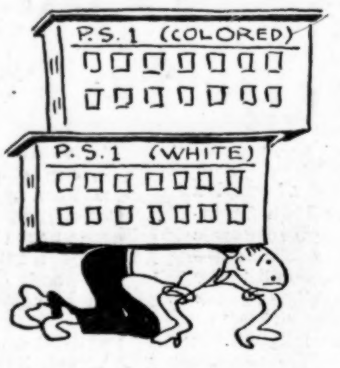
Oklahoma

Battle to end jimcrow schools

By Pat Richardson

NORMAN

THE fight against discrimination in education has moved into high gear here. First, spearheaded by the Equal Education Committee, a picket line was thrown around the state capitol to demonstrate that a system of separate Negro schools and white schools would bankrupt the Oklahoma treasury.



Other organizations swung into action. A large meeting, with representatives from church groups, the Progressive Party and Langston University students, agreed to work together. Langston is the state's understaffed Negro university.

After the meeting, Negro students applied for admission to Oklahoma A & M and Oklahoma University next fall, allowing the Attorney General time to arrange "equal facilities" in the Negro schools.

As one applicant put it: "Now if the Attorney General wants to keep us from getting an education, all he has to do is build engineering, medical and geology schools by next fall."

Indiana

Protest halts bus fare rise

By Willis R. Ellison

GARY

LAST October Gary Railway, a bus line and the only public transportation service for 140,000 residents, asked the City Council to boost the fare from 10c to 13c. A great protest from the people has thus far prevented the increase.

The bus line, which does not hire Negroes (although 45,000 live in Gary), says it is losing money. Last week it announced that it would curtail the already overcrowded service.

Local 1066 (CIO), Carnegie Steelworkers, largest union in Gary, has gone on record against the fare increase because of the ban on Negro drivers. If the ban is dropped, the local will be willing to consider some kind of increase. If the increase goes through without the ban being lifted, the local will make arrangements to transport all members to and from their jobs without cost.

Gary City Council has to date refused to act on the matter. Two of the nine-man council are Negroes.

How to be a Guardian anchor man

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Chicago dateline

Russell's boy Douglas

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

PAUL DOUGLAS was elected U.S. Senator from Illinois last November on a platform that included a large civil rights plank.

This week, only the GOP-minded **Chicago Tribune** printed excerpts from Douglas' maiden speech, delivered as the civil rights filibuster wound up. The Chicago Democrat said:

- "We are not proposing to abolish segregation in the South. We are not proposing to abolish it in housing or in the Federal aid for education bill. We are not proposing to abolish it in the schools."
- "We of the North are only urging the Democratic platform which was adopted at Philadelphia. We are not urging the program of the President's Commission on Civil Rights."
- "It is not necessary at all [for the Army to intermingle races down to squad level]. The Democratic platform says 'equality of treatment.' There can be separate battalions and separate regiments."

Filibuster leader Russell of Georgia said: "If the platform were all construed as the Senator from Illinois is construing it, I should feel much better about the future."

Illinois Progressive Party director William Miller said: "I'm not a bit surprised."

RED BRITAIN DEFIED. Attorney General Ivan Elliott of Illinois says "the only English common law in effect in Illinois is that passed prior to 1606."

Elliott this week stood pat on his earlier ruling that reporters can legally be barred from meetings of a country board of supervisors. His original opinion came when the Winnebago County Board appealed for his support after barring reporters from their sessions.

Then a Rockford paper printed a letter from Atty. R. J. Holmes, Hertfordshire, England, saying the British law cited by Elliott had been revised in 1908 to allow press coverage of such meetings:

Rebutted Elliott: "If the British changed their minds in 1908, that makes no difference here in Illinois."

FIVE WHO SAT. Negroes in East St. Louis are trying to break down segregation barriers in public schools.

Two months ago, five Negro children entered three "white" schools. They sat in empty classrooms, ignored by teachers, through all of January. The next day a strike of white students closed the Rock Island Junior High.

This week Atty. Wm. Jones of East St. Louis asked the Illinois Supreme Court for a writ to compel "white" schools to admit Negroes. The court refused to hear arguments. No reason was given.

Miss Bernie Goedde, Board of Education president in East St. Louis, commented: "The board will keep on doing business as it always has done unless it's forced to change."

LIVING & LEISURE

Pots & pocketbooks

Potato soup

By Charlotte Parks

SOME years ago, during a period of swollen prices and flat pocketbooks, a lank Scotswoman rose up in open forum where economic remedies—from single-tax to anarchism—were being discussed. "If everyone could make soup like mine," she said firmly, "there wouldn't be any hardship to bother about."

How the men in that audience laughed.

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Cheap soups may not be a panacea for all political ills, but they certainly help in cutting down food costs. Potato soups are cheap and appealing, both to the gourmet and the

dietician. In modern novels the hero and heroine dally over the **creme vichyssoise** in the grand restaurant. It's really only a fancy name for potato soup—lots easier to make than to pronounce correctly.

HERE'S a dilly of a soup. It can be made in a jiffy and the odor is so reviving and delicious that, in the words of the poet, ". . . 'twould tempt a dying anchorite to eat." The recipe was given me by a French teacher who claimed it was the very soup served to bon vivants and workers in Les Halles, the famous wholesale market of Paris. It's a sure cure for a bad cold, a hangover or a plain old-fashioned empty stomach.

Market Gardener's Soup

1 large potato (sliced thin)
1 large onion (sliced thin)
1 cup chopped celery (green tops included)
½ cup chopped parsley
1 tbsp. margarine

Cook first three ingredients in tightly covered pot ten minutes. Mash with fork. Add enough milk to make a quart. Evaporated milk is good. Add the butter and parsley last. Season to taste.

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Put that one in your pot and let it smoke. And if you like it, try one of these:

Beef and Potato Soup

3 beef cubes
1 large potato (sliced thin)

Cook till potato is tender. Mash. Enough water to finish with a quart in which melt beef cubes. Add just before serving, 1 cup finely chopped green onion tops and 1 tbsp. margarine or bacon fat.

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Flat Pocket Potato Soup

2 large onions
2 large potatoes

Slice thin and cook till tender. Pass through coarse sieve. Add water to make quart. 1 tbsp. bacon fat.

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Vichyssoise

2 large potatoes
1 stalk leek (chopped)
3 chicken cubes

Cook and run through coarse sieve, add enough full milk (or evaporated) to make a quart and garnish with the finely chopped tops of the leeks (raw). May be served hot or icy cold.

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Sister, if you can only spare a dime or thereabouts, try one of these soups. You will hear the vitamins singing.

NEXT WEEK: Good gravy!

The Chopin centennial

Poland honors a hero

By Yvonne Gregory

ONE hundred years ago next Oct. 17 Frederic Chopin died. In all sections of Polish life—theater, film, church and school—in city and country, celebrations are already going on for the man Poland remembers not only as its greatest composer but as a national hero.

Most moving testimony to the Polish nation's love of Chopin was the return of the composer's heart after the war to its former resting place in Warsaw's church of the Holy Cross. It had been removed and hidden from the Germans during the war.

The head of the Chopin Warsaw Memorial statue, destroyed by the Germans, was rescued by women workers from the ruins of a Wroclaw foundry.

When Chopin left Poland forever in 1830, shortly before the November uprising against Tsarist oppression, he said: "But my heart will remain with you." His friends gave him a silver cup containing Polish earth, which stayed with him until his death 19 years later in Paris.

The earth was sprinkled on his coffin. Now his heart rests in the Polish country which so much of his music glorified.

NAZI COMPLIMENT. The Nazis singled out Chopin for special attack in their plan to uproot Polish culture. His music was verboten as too dangerous because of its militant call to the Polish national spirit.

The Germans destroyed monuments to Chopin and plundered many souvenirs connected wiith his life. The manuscripts of the preludes were lost, as well as some of his letters and his sister's diary dealing with his period of fatal illness.

His birthplace in Zalazowa Wola, now restored and a national shrine, was stripped of all furniture and valuables during the occupation. The Germans left only the broken remains of the piano on which Chopin took his first music lessons.

PIANO CHALLENGE. Tadeusz Jarecki, symphonic composer, Chopin scholar, and member of Columbia University Music Department faculty, has said of him:

"Hitherto the world has not known Chopin for what he was, and has not rightly estimated the musical upheaval of which his work was the herald. . . He spoke for the people!

". . . Was he a revolutionary? Was he a patriot? Was he a democrat? His father was all of these, having responded many years before to the call of a hero of the American revolution, General Tadeusz Kosciuszko, who had armed the Polish peasantry to fight against a despot.

". . . In 1830 Chopin left Poland to find himself alone amongst a people unfriendly to his country. . . In despair he turned to the world he had stored away in his memory. He felt the greatness of his people . . . the abuses he heard heaped upon the struggling Poles strengthened in him a resolution to be their avenger. With the only instrument he commanded — the piano — he thundered out his Polonaises, his Krakowiaks, his rondos, and daydreamed his Mazurkas. . . . His genius united the individual and autobiographical story with that of a whole people. Like them, he knew how to evolve new patterns without disturbing what is elemental and immortal."

REBORN. In 1949 the new Polish democracy, born out of long and ceaseless struggle for national liberation, devotes eight months to continuous celebration of a Polish hero's hundredth anniversary.

Some of the most important events include a schedule of concerts and exhibitions corresponding to historic dates in Chopin's life.

The Chopin Centennial Committee has invited pianists in all countries, who are between 16 and 32 years of age and have either completed musical studies or performed publicly, to enter an international contest in Warsaw from Sept. 15 to Oct . 15. (Applications accepted through May 31).

Four prizes and a special award will be given for the best piano performances of the Polish master.

Canard Enchaine, Paris

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Values in men's suits

DESPITE the recent slowdown in production, you can still find a good buy in a suit this spring if you know how to pick one.

Some woolen-types are actually selling below cost because niftier dressers this year demand hard-finish fabrics like gabardines and sharkskins. Coverts, tweeds, wool cheviots and cashmeres are available for as little as $25. The cashmeres wear poorly, but a closely-woven covert or tweed will give fairly good service. It is wise to buy these woolen types with an extra pair of trousers.

WATCH THE CUT. Tailoring is as important as quality. To be sure a suit has at least some hand tailoring, look for crude stitching around the button holes (machine stitching is very even and regular); lapels that roll rather than lie flat; long, crude stitches where the lining is joined to the cuff, rather than small, even stitches.

Also look for a rayon lining (to slip on and off easily) in a twill weave (for sturdiness).

If you still prefer a worsted, the worsted cheviots are cheaper than fancy patterns like sharkskin, and will wear as long. You always get more for your money in solid colors than in patterns.

SHIRT SALES RUNNING OUT. To save on shirts, look in on the sales still going on. Retailers have disposed of most of their accumulated inventories in the recent wave of cut-price promotions. Production has been cut 30 to 35%. This will gradually bring a halt to the deep price slashes that temporarily gladdened consumers.

Pin-money glamor

THREE money-saving fashion ideas and a warning:

For women who can't afford over-priced spring coats, an important fashion trend this year is the topper, available in rayon for as little as $5, in wool for well under $10. More versatile than a coat, a topper can be worn with many kinds of outfits. A tweed topper won't get shabby as quickly as a flannel, nor soil as easily. Select one in simple lines so you get additional seasons of wear out of it.

BE IN FASHION—GET ROPE. Simple, white clothesline rope is being used by some manufacturers as a style feature on slacks and other playclothes. You can bring last year's outfits up to date with a few lengths of rope from any hardware store.

Denim in colors other than blue is being made up into spring and summer street dresses as well as sports clothes this year. Denim is one of the sturdiest cottons and stands up under tubbing. Generally it's dressed up with a wide trim or cording or other contrasting material for street dresses. Just be sure any denim you buy is guaranteed colorfast. And look for one that is pre-shrunk.

THE WARNING: The two-tone women's suits being promoted this season will be a dead give away next year on a dated style. The fashion trade couldn't have thought up a better way to make expensive garments quickly obsolete.

Most from your vegetables

IT'S not just the cost of a vegetable that counts, but how much there is to eat from it. U.S. Navy tests reveal there's most waste in cauliflower and asparagus; 70% of the latter is lost in trimming.

Vegetables with most eating per pound are snap beans, beets (without tops), cabbage, bulk carrots, potatoes. Broccoli has less waste than spinach.